DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 065 247 RC 006 321

AUTHOR	Kuvlesky, William P.; And Others
TITLE	Orientations Toward Racial Prejudice Among Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Blacks.
INSTITUTION	Texas A and M Univ., College Station. Texas Agricultural Experiment Station.
SPONS AGENCY	Department of Agriculture, Washington, D.C.
REPORT NO	TAES-H-2906
PUB DATE	Aug 72
NOTE	63p.; Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Rural Sociological Society, Baton Rouge, Lousiana, August 1972
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS	Arousal Patterns; *Negroes; Neighborhood Integration; Perception; Race Relations; *Racial Attitudes; *Research; *Rural Urban Differences; School Integration; *Tables (Data)

ABSTRACT

Extending the analysis begun in a paper by Kuvlesky and Cannon (1971, ED 053 828) on the association of place of residence types in the South with attitudes of Blacks toward race relations in their communities, this paper reports additional findings resulting from data collected in June and July, 1971, from almost 300 homemakers within a preselected set of neighborhoods in central Houston. The study's objectives were to determine to what extent the metropolitan Black women differed from the two types of nonmetropolitan Black women in reference to the perception of racial prejudice directed towards Blacks by local Whites, the desire for racial integration, and the perception of the possibility for racial integration in the local area. A second objective was to determine whether or not the interrelations of these variables differed by place of residence type. It was concluded that place of residence does influence racial orientations of Blacks in the South, that a great deal of intragroup variation existed in degree of prejudice perceived regardless of residence type, and that town residents perceived a higher degree of racial prejudice directed toward them by local Whites than did the other two resident groups. The recommendations for further research included the factors underlying the dramatic variability in degree of prejudice preceived, the desirability of integration, and the perceived possibility of its occurrence. (HBC)

ED 065247

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
OFFICE OF EDUCATION
THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL OFFICE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY.

ORIENTATIONS TOWARD RACIAL PREJUDICE AMONG METROPOLITAN AND NONMETROPOLITAN BLACKS*

William Kuvlesky
Texas A&M University

Richard Warren
Iowa State University

George Ragland
Prairie View A&M College

*Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Rural Sociological Society, Baton Rouge, August, 1972. This paper contributes to TAES project H-2906 and USDA (CSRS) regional project NC-90, "Factors Affecting Patterns of Living in Disadvantaged Families." Recognition is due Katheryn Dietrich of Texas A&M, who supervised field work and data processing for their study, and for her critical reading of the original manuscript.

Technical article number ____ of the Texas Agricultural Experiment Station.

RC006321

INTRODUCTION

This paper represents an extension of a line of analysis begun in a paper reported last year (Kuvlesky and Cannon, 1971) on the association of place of residence types in the South with attitudes of Blacks toward race relations in their communities. The prior report focused on an intra-non-metropolitan (NM) type of place (town-village) comparison of Black women relative to their perceptions of racial prejudice and their attitudes toward racial integration from data collected in mid-1970. The purpose of this paper is to report additional findings resulting from the addition of a metropolitan (M), center-city population as a comparative unit made up of similar respondents, utilizing identical operations--this data was collected in mid-1971.

The purpose of the analysis to be reported here was to determine to what extent the M Black women differed from the two types of NM Black women in reference to: (1) perception of racial prejudice directed towards Blacks by local Whites, (2) desire for racial integration, and (3) perception of the possibility for racial integration in the local area. A second objective is to determine whether or not the interrelations of these variables differ by place of residence type.

REVIEW OF RELEVANT RESEARCH

Because a thorough review of past research has recently been provided on place of residence and orientation toward race relations (Kuvlesky and Cannon, 1971), we will simply review this briefly. The situation has changed little since 1965, when Lee Coleman called our attention to the lack of research about the rural-urban variable and race relations, particularly in respect to the study of Blacks. There is not much available in the accumulated research literature to enlighten us on rural Blacks' orientations toward race relations or on place of residence differences that might be expected in this regard.

Some speculations and weakly supported empirical generalizations relevant to possible place of residence (size of place) differences in orientations of Blacks toward race relations were found (Kuvlesky and Cannon, 1971). In brief, negative attitudes and orientations toward race differences are believed to be more extreme in the South as compared with the North, for females as compared with males, for larger places as compared with smaller ones, for poorer and richer people as compared with the middle income groups, and for younger in contrast with older subjects. However, most of these "propositions" evolved from work that is badly dated and are almost entirely based on observations from populations other than southern Blacks (Williams, 1964; Miller, 1966). It would appear from these statements that the respondents involved in this study should be among the most extremely prejudiced in our society and that the degree of negative attitudes, perception, and feelings about race relations should become stronger as one moves from larger to smaller places. However, it is our judgment that these statements are not strongly grounded in either

viable general theory or substantial past research and, consequently, are questionable. Also, as far as size of place goes, most of the statements paraphrased above were originally made in reference to differences in sizes of cities and did not explicitly refer to the hinterland-metropolitan variable with which we deal here (Williams, 1964).

Evidence from our previous town-village comparisons appear to bring into question the simple proposition that there is a general inverse relationship between negative racial attitudes and size of place (Kuvlesky and Cannon, 1971). Although there was much variance observed among respondents within both these residence types, the village Blacks less frequently perceived racial prejudice directed toward them by local Whites and more often thought the opportunities for racial integration were good in a variety of social contexts than did their town counterparts.[1/]

It appears from all this that the question of whether or not--or to what extent--there are differences in orientations toward race among rural and small town people as compared with counterparts in the very large city remains open.

The analysis to be reported is intended to be exploratory and descriptive. It was our decision to follow Lee Coleman's (1965:399) suggestion to give the highest initial priority to the need for basic descriptive data about the rural-urban variable's meaning for Blacks in our first set of analyses. Consequently, the emphasis here is on empirical description of Blacks' orientations toward race relations and the measurement of these variables. In this paper we are not relating these orientation variables to other factors posited in some theoretically derived causal chain. The potential theoretical and methodological significance of the findings will be drawn as ex post facto interpretations.

THE RESPONDENTS

Selection of Study Units and Respondents

The information for this analysis came from part of a larger study structured to investigate comprehensively the nature of Black families in selected areas of East Texas.[3/]

In reference to the NM segment, we purposely selected one East Texas county that was judged to be fairly representative of the agricultural, non-metropolitan eastern section of the state that is pervaded by the traditional southern culture.[4/] This county was predominantly rural (75%), had a disproportionately high rate of low-income families relative to Texas as a whole, and was about one-fourth Black. Within this county, we selected the largest population center--a town of about 5,000, which was about one-quarter Black--and two all-Black, open-country villages to serve as the universe for drawing our respondents according to certain screening criteria required for the regional investigation, which we will describe later.

For the M survey we selected Houston because it was part of the larger cultural configuration characteristic of the traditional South and because it was the largest population center of this type in East Texas with which we could compare our NM data.[5/] With the assistance of 1960 Census Tract data and direct observation of potential study areas, we selected from within Houston a set of contiguous neighborhoods located in the center of the city that were almost entirely Black and predominantly low-income. A design was developed by Dr. W. Kennedy Upham to provide a 50% sample of households in the selected study area in order to produce a number of respondents roughly corresponding to those 259 already interviewed in the NM area.[6/]

Our respondents were designated to be homemakers not over 65 years of age, and not under 18 (unless they were the mother of a least one child), and having children in the household, Table 1.[7] These selection criteria obviously produced study populations unrepresentative of the total Black populations in these areas: the prime population segments excluded were males, children, and old women.

Interviewing of Respondents

During June and July of 1970, we interviewed 259 NM homemakers, Table 1. All of the Black households in the communities studied were located on maps, and the researchers spent several weeks developing relations with local facilitators and making observations of the study communities. Potential interviewers were recruited from Black women teaching school in an adjacent county, and a week was spent in training and field testing these interviewers. The interviews took about 1 and 1/2 hours on the average, and the interviewers reported that good cooperation was easily established with the respondents in almost all cases. One of the researchers was constantly available to provide assistance to the interviewers, and the questionnaires were carefully checked and evaluated every night.

In June and July, 1971, almost 300 homemakers were interviewed within a preselected set of neighborhoods in central Houston (see Table 1). This area was selected to provide what was judged to be a predominantly low-income population of households and yet, to include enough variability in socio-economic status so that this variable could be used in analysis and, also, so that the metropolitan study population would be roughly comparable in this respect to the previously surveyed nonmetropolitan population. Black female interviewers were recruited, trained and supervised and data was collected in an identical fashion to that described for the earlier NM survey.

Table 1. Summary Overview of Family Units Interviewed

Units	NM		M
	Village	Town	
	Number		
Total Households	107	449	802
Households Eligible	53	211	302
Households Interviewed	52	207	294
Households Utilized In Analysis	52	207	294

Attributes of the Respondents and Their Life Circumstances[8/]

As reported in an earlier paper (Kuvlesky and Cannon, 1971) there was a general lack of substantial differences in important social attributes between the village and town groupings that made up the NM study population. Similarly, the NM population did not differ substantially on the average from the M one in reference to education, age, or family size (Byrd, Taft, Kuvlesky, 1972). On the other hand, substantial differences existed between these two populations in reference to employment, occupational prestige, and housing (Byrd, Taft, and Kuvlesky, 1972). In reference to employment, the metropolitan main breadwinner was twice as likely to be unemployed (fully a fourth were so classified) and were more likely to be unskilled workers (1/3 as compared to 1/4). Also, the homemaker in the metropolitan Black household was more likely to be the main breadwinner than in the NM case (57% as compared to 37%). On the other hand, homes in the NM study area were frequently without a flush toilet (42%), without piped, hot water (46%), and even without piped water altogether (28%); whereas, it was rare for the M home to be without these facilities. In conclusion, the NM subjects tended to have a better employment situation but, conversely, the M subject had less basic inadequacies in housing.

The NM communities involved in this study were relatively isolated geographically. The vast majority of homes housing the Blacks respondents were located on dusty, unpaved roads, and the neighborhoods were racially homogeneous. Schools in these communities had only recently (1969-1971) undergone substantial racial integration. Although a wide range of living conditions were observed among these respondents, most were clearly living in conditions that could be called impoverished or disadvantaged: houses were most often small, poorly built, unpainted, wooden structures.

Circumstances in the M study area differed in several respects: roads were generally not unpaved; while racially segregated, the neighborhoods were settled more densely and were not geographically isolated; while housing was still generally very poor, they were better equipped to provide for basic life needs. In addition, the schools serving the M area were still predominantly Black. Also, the M residents had good access to public transportation, while the NM residents had only a few public cabs available (at high cost).

INSTRUMENTS AND MEASUREMENTS

Instruments for racial orientations were developed to provide a means of exploring how rural Blacks' orientations toward local racial situations related to their place of residence aspirations and migration intentions. It was the reasoning (of Kuvlesky) that at least two important aspects of these orientations would have relevance in this regard: (1) the amount of race prejudice Blacks' perceived directed at them by local Whites and (2) their perceptions of opportunity for racial integration existing in the community relative to their desire for racial integration.

Instruments used to tap each of these variables consisted of multi-item inventories (scales) that were attached to the regional NC-90 standard set of instruments.* The questionnaire statements pertaining to each are presented in APPENDIX A, and the distributions of original responses to each item for each of the three inventories are provided in APPENDIX B. The nature of the instruments and the scale scores they produced are described briefly below. Reliability measures of each instrument are presented later in the paper.

*Glenn Hawkes of the California Agricultural Experiment Station has also translated these instruments into Spanish and modified them for a study of Mexican American Migrants contributing to the NC-90 regional project.

Perception of Prejudice (PP)

Prejudice can be either positive or negative and, according to Williams (1964:28), can be one of three types: cognitive, affective, and evaluative. The instrument we have constructed to measure Blacks' perception of prejudice directed toward them by Whites involves only negative, cognitive prejudice. Williams also cautions that these negative prejudgments vary in inclusiveness relative to the target population. The items used in our instrument specifically direct the Black respondents' judgements to people in their local areas--"white people around here."

Five forced-choice items were used indicating stereotypes of Blacks often held by Whites. The respondents were asked to respond to the extent with which they agreed that Whites in their local areas held each of these by indicating a preference for one of four scaled options: (1) "strongly disagree", (2) "tend to disagree", (3) "tend to agree" and, (4) "strongly agree". By adding the scale values of individual items (according to the numbers shown above for the response alternatives), an unweighted, total scale score was achieved for "perceived prejudice" (PP). Potential variation in PP scores ranged from 5-20 and the actual scores of respondents realized this potential range.

Desire for Racial Integration (DI)

Desire for integration was indicated by six forced-choice items calling for an indication of the respondent's preference for interacting with "Negroes Only" or "Negroes and Whites" in the following social contexts: church, children in school, children at play outside of school, living in the neighborhood, "close personal friendships", and ownership of stores patronized. An unweighted

total DI score was derived to indicate "desire for integration" by adding scores of the six individual items ("Negroes Only" = 1; "Negroes and Whites" = 2). The potential range in variation of total DI scores was 6-12, and the respondents' actual scores realized this potential range.

Perception of Possibility for Integration (PI)

The perception of possibility for integration was indicated by an instrument purposely designed to include items representing the same contextual situations as those described above for desire of integration. One difference between the two sets is that store ownership was not included here. The respondent was asked to indicate whether it was possible or not for Negroes and Whites to interact in the five social situations specified. Possible was scored "1" and not possible, "2", and the scores were summed to produce a total PI scale score indicating degree of perceived possibility for integration. The potential range in PI scores is 5-10 (the lower the score the higher the possibility) and the actual scores of respondents realized this range.

Evaluation of Scales

Several articles have stressed the importance of reliability and examination of individual items when composite scores or indices are formed from multiple items representing the measurement of a concept (Bohrnstedt, 1969; Curtes and Jackson, 1962; Campbell and Fiske, 1959). If more than one composite measure is formed, then consideration must be given to whether or not the various composite measures are discriminating among the concepts. Since the items used for our three orientations toward race scales could be considered as a sampling of items or a cross section of possible items, reliability and discriminant measurement evaluation are important.

Often used criteria for assessing scales include the reliability coefficient,* item to total score correlation, average intercorrelation among items, homogeneity of the correlations, means of the individual items and variance of the individual items. This information is summarized in Table 2 for our three scales on orientation toward race by place of residence.

PP and DI Scales

For both the PP scale and the DI scale the coefficients of reliabilities are very acceptable. Considering the PP scale, the village had the highest reliability coefficient with α=.91 followed by coefficients of .87 for M and .81 for town (see Appendix C for detailed discussion of items of the PP Scale). For the DI scale the ordering of reliability coefficients was town (α=.90), village (α=.85), and M (α=.83). For both the PP scale and DI scale the average item-to-total score correlations were in the 70's to 80's within fairly narrow ranges. The average inter-item correlations ranged in the high 40's to the 70's and within moderate ranges. The variances fall in fairly narrow ranges (wide differences in variances would suggest a weighted summation score if equal weighting of the items was desired).

From a measurement viewpoint, it can be concluded that both the PP and DI scales satisfy the evaluative criteria used and are acceptable scales. For both the PP and DI scales, the scaling criteria appear to be best met in the data from the village.

PI Scale

Some problems arise in the PI scale because almost all respondents gave the same answer to one item (100% of village and over 90% of the other two

*The reliability coefficient calculated in this study is coefficient alpha (Cronbach, 1951).

Table 2. Summary Table on Reliability For Three Scales on Orientations Toward Race Relations

	Perception of Prejudice			Desire for Integration			Possibility of Integration		
	Village	Town	Metropolitan	Village	Town	Metropolitan	Village	Town	Metropolit.
1. Average Item to Total Correlation (r_{it})	.86	.76	.80	.81	.75	.74	xxxx	.64	.71
2. Average Inter-Item Correlation (r_{ij})	.70	.48	.57	.58	.48	.47	xxxx	.28	.40
3. Reliability Coefficient	.91	.81	.87	.90	.85	.83	xxxx	.68	.70
4. Range of Means	2.92 to 3.28	3.25 to 3.58	2.81 to 3.22	1.37 to 1.56	1.49 to 1.79	1.55 to 1.88	1.00 to 1.35	1.04 to 1.44	1.03 to 1.20
5. Range of Variances	.803 to .936	.420 to .599	.854 to 1.046	.236 to .250	.168 to .250	.108 to .249	.000 to .231	.042 to .248	.033 to .158
6. Range of Item to Total Correlations	.836 to .884	.729 to .787	.720 to .851	.755 to .885	.657 to .869	.565 to .827	-- to .837	.266 to .742	.652 to .817
7. Range of Inter-Correlations	.638 to .808	.365 to .572	.390 to .751	.380 to .821	.304 to .625	.240 to .650	-- to .466	.001 to .455	.152 to .617

place types). One criterion sometimes applied to scales requires that not over 80% of the respondents select a given response. Since 100% of the village respondents selected the same answer, some of the scaling criteria could not be calculated. Scaling criteria information for town and M are presented but should be interpreted with care. This information needs to be considered in using this scale in future studies. However, since the original intention was to have a cross section of items and this scaling criteria is being applied ex post facto, we will leave the item in the DI scale for analysis. Composite scores for all three places of residence with the item in the score and the item out of the score correlate above .98 (essentially one is being added to everyone's total score with item in score).

Data Operations

Responses to the individual items of each scale and total scale scores were transferred to data cards, and all subsequent data operations were done on a computer using standard available programs at either Texas A&M or Iowa State. Several statistical testing procedures were utilized and are described at relevant points in the presentation of the analysis and findings.

EX POST FACTO CONCEPTUAL ORDERING: DIMENSIONS OF RACIAL PREJUDICE

As was noted earlier, Williams (1964:28) conceptually divides prejudice into three types -- cognitive, affectual, and evaluative. By evaluative, he refers to orientations toward normative standards pertaining to race relations and, particularly, orientations toward relevant public policy in this regard. The affectual type of prejudice pertains to orientations toward actual interracial interactions and is indicated by some measure of preference

for "social distance" (Williams, 1964:28). It is our opinion that our measure of Blacks' preference for racial integration taps this conceptual element. We further reasoned that Black's perceptions of Whites' negative stereotypes about Blacks is itself a negative stereotype (however, valid) and can be viewed as a measure of negative, cognitive prejudice on the part of the respondents. Likewise, Blacks' perceptions of possibilities for racial integration to exist (or for institutionalization of segregated patterns to change) could be viewed as another indication of cognitive prejudice on their part.

Inferences from our earlier results (Kuvlesky and Cannon, 1971), shed some light on the relationship existing between two types of racial prejudice among Blacks: cognitive and affectual. The fact that most of both our town and village respondents indicate a high degree of <u>cognitive prejudice</u> but tended to be split into camps (+ and -) on <u>affectual prejudice</u>, indicates that these two types of prejudice need not be highly correlated.

In summary, in our judgment the racial orientations of Blacks' we have measured in this study can be interpreted as indicators of several different kinds of racial prejudice. There still remains to be accomplished a major task of conceptual specification and ordering in the problem area of racial prejudice (Kuvlesky and Taft, 1972). The results to be reported here should contribute toward these ends -- at least, in the sense of determining whether or not types of prejudice are similarly distributed among a given set of populations.

ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

The analysis is presented in two sections. The first part corresponds to an extension of the Kuvlesky and Cannon (1971) analysis--simply bringing the M respondents into comparisons with the town and village (NM) respondents in reference to the scale scores and individual constituent elements (items) of each of the inventories for perception of prejudice, desire for racial integration, and perceived possibility for racial integration. Because the NM comparisons were the prime focus of the prior paper, we will concentrate our attention on the M-NM comparison here.

The second section of this analysis reports our attempt to discern place of residence differentials in the interrelations of the three general racial orientations under consideration, utilizing correlation techniques. This section also provides reliability evaluations of the three scales used--something that was not done in the prior paper. The substantive inferences, also, of these interitem relationships will be reported, particularly in reference to the social context variability deliberately built into the "perception of possibility for" and "desires for" racial integration inventories.

Place of Residence and Orientations Toward Race

Perception of Prejudice (PP)

An overview of the total PP scale scores indicates that the village and M respondents were similar in the degree of prejudice perceived to be directed toward them by Whites, Table 3. The town dwellers clearly tended to perceive more racial prejudice than the other two types. Figure 1 demonstrates visually that very large proportions of all respondents perceived the highest possible degree of

Table 3. Percentage Distribution of "Perceived Prejudice" (PP) Total Scores by Residence Type

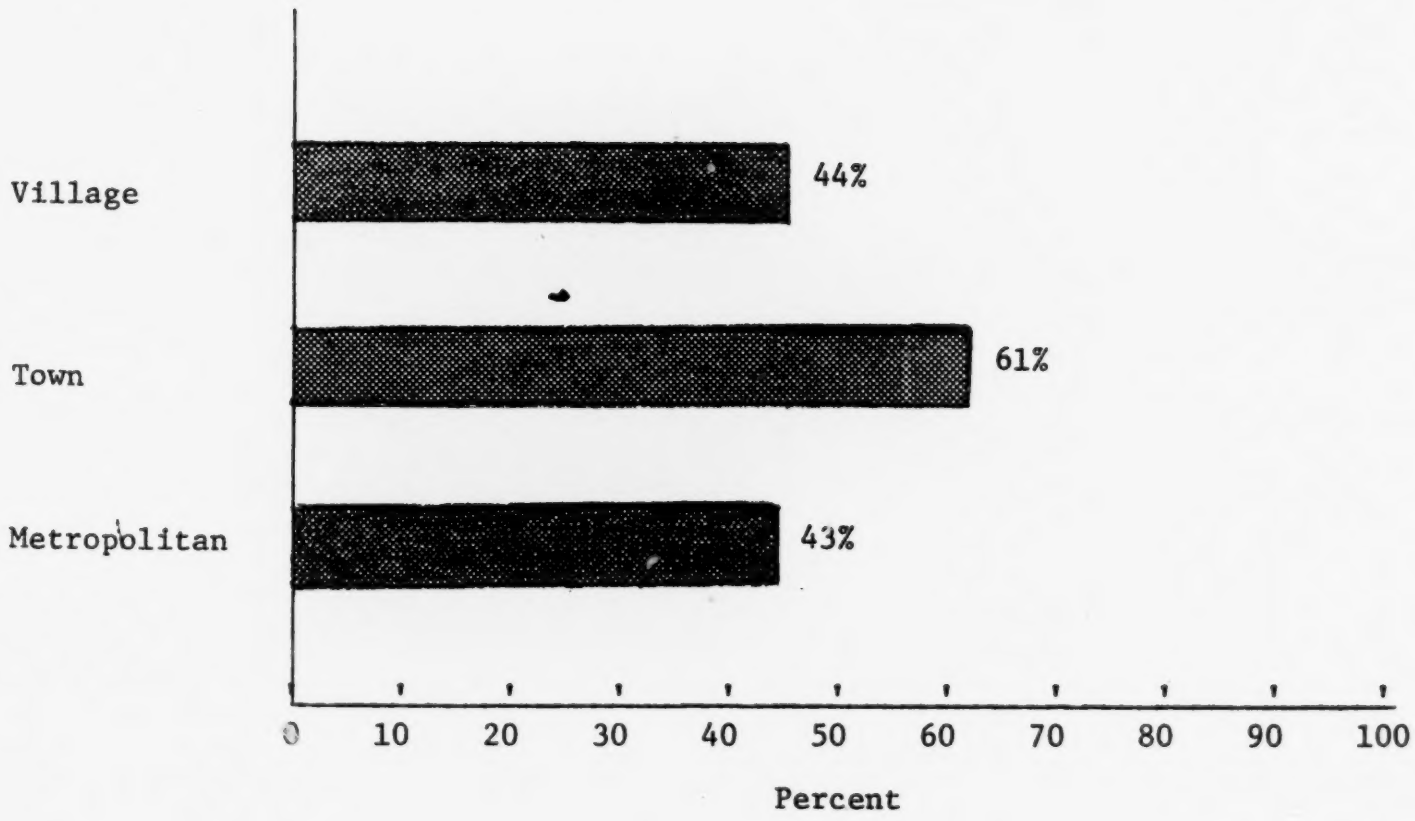
PP Score		Village (N=51)		Town (N=206)		Metropolitan (N=293)	
		----------Percent----------					
5 (-)		2		0		2	
6	Weak	2	(8)	0	(0)	1	(6)
7		0		0		1	
8		4		0		2	
9		2		2		4	
10	Moderate	6	(18)	1	(8)	5	(19)
11		0		2		4	
12		10		3		6	
13		4		3		5	
14		2		6		11	
15	Moderately Strong	14	(30)	14	(31)	11	(32)
16		10		8		5	
17		19		13		10	
18	Very Strong	2	(44)	13	(61)	11	(43)
19		4		10		7	
20 (+)		19		25		15	
TOTAL		100		100		100	
No information		1		1		1	
Means 1/		15.24		16.99		15.03	
S^2		15.54		7.31		15.10	

$X^2 = 37.20$ df=6 P <.001

1/ Statistical tests on means

M vs. T: t=6.24 df=497 P<.001
M vs. V: t=.35 df=342 P>.10

Figure 1. Place of Residence Differences in Perception of Very Strong Prejudice



*PP scores of 17-20 from a possible range of 5-20

racial prejudice measured and that the town dwellers were the most extreme in this regard. The town respondents also demonstrated a much higher level of intra-group consensus on perceived prejudice as can be noted in the observed variance of the distributions (S^2), Table 3.

The vast majority of all three types of respondents agreed that, for all five items included in the PP inventory, Whites were prejudiced toward them, Table 4. Conversely, very few respondents disagreed with these statements, (See PP Scores 5-8, Table 4). While 15% or more of all three respondent types strongly agreed that Whites held all 5 negative stereotypes about Blacks, either none or extremely few disagreed with all items.

Desire For Racial Integration (DI)

The place of residence differentials observed in reference to desire for racial integration do follow the trend predicted by the speculative statements of most social scientists reported on earlier: desire for racial integration becomes generally stronger as place type increases in size, Table 5. The tendency for Black women in the NM communities to be polarized into opposing extreme camps on the desirability of racial integration differed from the high level of consensus existing among the M dwellers in desiring integration strongly (note the variance (S^2) measures). Two-thirds of the Houston residents "strongly" desired racial integration as compared to less than a third of the village Black women, Figure 2. In fact, nearly half of the M residents indicated desire for integration in all six social contexts, as compared with only about 1/3 of the town residents and even less of the villagers. A similar, but converse trend was observed at the other extreme.

Table 4. Summary of Affirmative Responses (Strongly Agree and Agree) to Perceived Prejudice Items by Place of Residence

PP Item	Village (N=51)	Town (N=206)	Metropolitan (N=293)	P at .05 (X^2)
	----------Percent----------			
1. Judge Negroes by Worst	72	86	72	Yes
2. Don't Like to be Around Negroes	70	83	61	Yes
3. Don't Like White Kids to Play With Negro Kids	66	84	63	Yes
4. Never Let You Forget You Are a Negro	80	92	77	Yes
5. Think They Are Cleaner Than Negroes	82	93	72	Yes

1. $X^2 = 16.33$ df=2 P<.001
2. $X^2 = 29.63$ df=2 P<.001
3. $X^2 = 27.60$ df=2 P<.001
4. $X^2 = 18.28$ df=2 P<.001
5. $X^2 = 32.58$ df=2 P<.001

Table 5. Percentage Distribution of "Desire for Integration" (DI) Total Scores by Residence Type

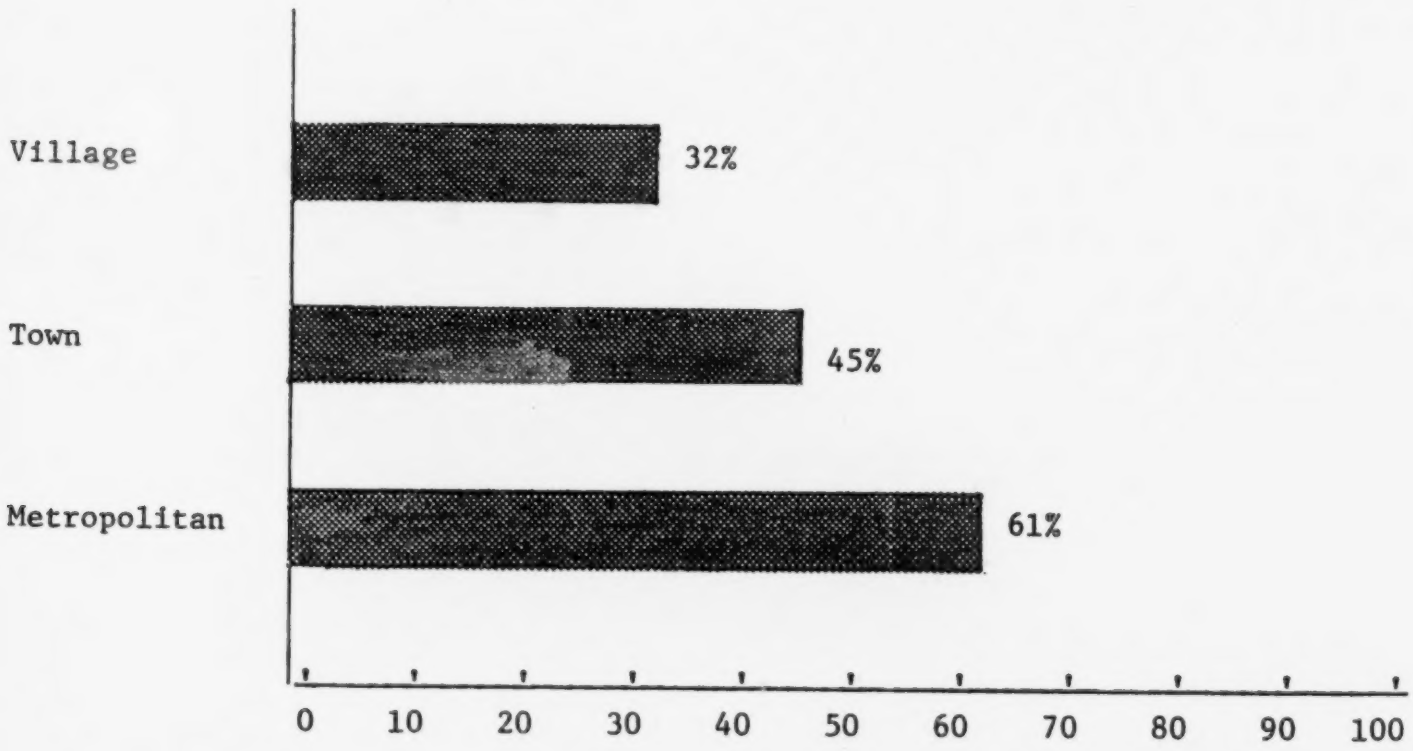
DI Score		Village (N=52)		Town (N=206)		Metropolitan (N=292)	
		----------Percent----------					
6 (-)	Weak	31		11		5	
7		10	(41)	14	(25)	8	(13)
8		8		8		6	
9	Moderate	10	(27)	9	(30)	9	(26)
10		9		13		11	
11		9		14		17	
12	Strong	23	(32)	31	(45)	44	(61)
TOTAL		100		100		100	
No information				1		2	
Means: 1/		8.79		9.65		10.40	
S^2 =		5.86		4.68		3.67	

X^2 = 46.77 df=12 P<.001

1/ Statistical tests on means:

M vs. T: t=4.07 df=496 P<.001
M vs. V: t=5.33 df=342 P<.001

Figure 2. Place of Residence Differences in Strong Desire for Racial Integration



*DI scores of 11-12 from a possible range of 6-12

An examination of place of residence differentials in reference to each of the six variable social context elements upon which the scale was built demonstrates clearly that the general findings described above reflects a pattern that covers all social circumstances examined: for every one of the six particular social contexts considered, the villagers were the least likely and the Houston residents the most likely to desire integration, Table 6. The pattern of magnitude of these differentials was also relatively consistent: except for neighborhood, the greatest difference appeared to be due to the extremely lower proportion of village dwellers desiring integration. In reference to neighborhood, the major difference was that 75% of the M residents desired integration as compared with much smaller proportions of the other two types.

Similar consistency, given general differences already noted, also appear in the rank order of desire by social context, Table 7. School attracted relatively high frequency of desire for all three types, and integration of store buying was most frequently desired by town and M dwellers, but ranked much lower for villagers. Conversely, friendships and church had the lowest ranks of desire associated with them among the six situationally specific elements for all three residence types. The Houston respondents, appeared to give more emphasis to desire for integrated neighborhoods as compared to the villagers and town residents.

Perceived Possibility for Racial Integration (PI)

Almost all Houston residents were extremely optimistic about the possibility for racial integration in their community, as compared with somewhat less optimism among the villagers, and substantially less among the town people, Table 8. These differences are clearly demonstrated in

Table 6. Preference for Racial Integration as Opposed to Segregation in Six Different Social Contexts by Residence Type

DI Social Context	Prefer Racial Integration			P at .05 (X^2)
	Village	Town	Metropolitan	
	----------Percent----------			
1. Stores (Buy From)	48	78	88	Yes
2. Church	37	52	66	Yes
3. School	56	70	82	Yes
4. Children (Play)	54	64	73	Yes
5. Neighborhood	44	49	74	Yes
6. Friendship (Close)	40	53	55	Yes

1. Stores	X^2 = 45.14	df=2	P <.001	
2. Church	X^2 = 20.37	df=2	P <.001	
3. School	X^2 = 21.28	df=2	P <.001	
4. Children (Play)	X^2 = 10.37	df=2	.001< P <.01	
5. Neighborhood	X^2 = 39.37	df=2	P <.001	
6. Friendship (Close)	X^2 = 36.08	df=2	P <.001	

Table 7. Rank Order of Desire for Racial Integration in Six Different Social Contexts by Place of Residence.

Percent Desiring	Village	Town	Metropolitan
100			
95			
90	H I G H D E S I R E *		
85			•(1) Stores
80		•(1) Stores	•(2) School
75			•(3) Neighborhood
70		•(2) School	•(4) Children (Play)
65		•(3) Children (Play)	•(5) Church
60			•(6) Friendship
55	•(1) School •(2) Children (Play)	•(4) Friendship •(5) Church	
50		•(6) Neighborhood	
45	•(3) Stores •(4) Neighborhood		
40	•(5) Friendship		
35	•(6) Church		
30		L O W D E S I R E *	
25			
% Range: High to Low	19	29	27

* Those categories no more than 5% from the high and low extremes in frequency of being desired by each type of respondent.

Table 8. Percentage Distribution of "Perceived Possibility for Integration" (PI) Total Scores by Residence Type

PI Score		Village (N=52)		Town (N=206)		Metropolitan (N=291)	
		----------Percent----------					
5 (+)	High	54	(73)	32	(53)	75	(92)
6		19		21		17	
7	Moderate	15	(21)	17	(32)	3	(5)
8		6		15		2	
9	Low	6	(6)	14	(15)	2	(3)
10		0		1		1	
TOTAL		100		100		100	
No information		0		1		2	
Means: 1/		5.90		6.62		5.41	
S^2 =		1.46		2.16		.84	

X^2 = 124.27 df=10 P<.001

1/ Statistical tests on means

M vs. T: t=11.26 df=495 P<.001
M vs. V: t=3.36 df=341 P<.001

Figure 3, where the proportion of each type of respondent perceiving racial integration to be possible in all five of the social contexts examined is plotted. It would appear that the town dwellers more clearly anticipated the broad racial segregation patterns in their community to persist than do either the villagers or Houston residents.

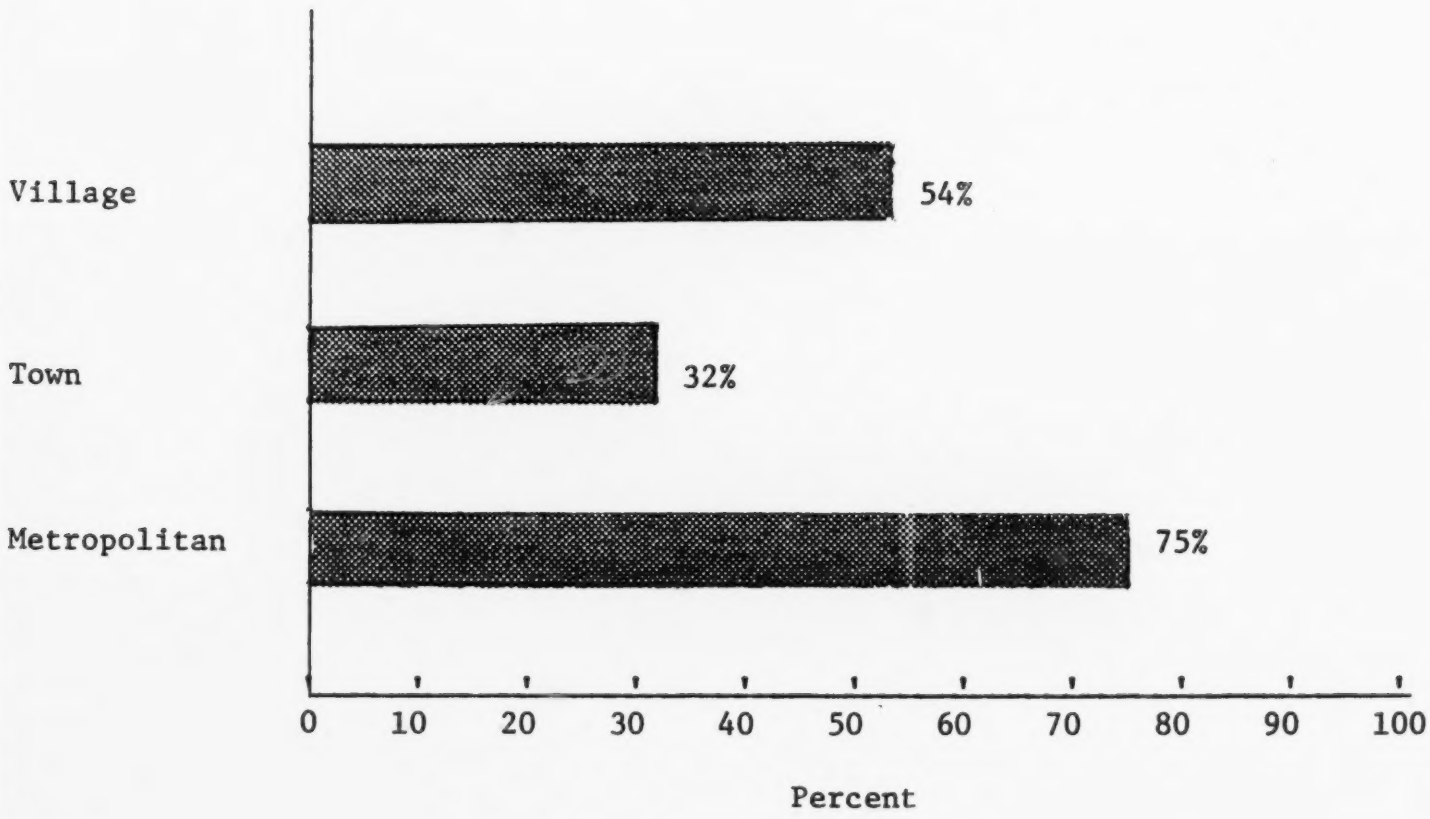
A comparison of the three groups on their perceptions of the chances for racial integration by situationally specific social contexts is very revealing, Table 9. Only in reference to the integration of schools was there a lack of difference by residence type--almost all respondents saw this as possible. Otherwise, the patterns of difference were consistent with the general pattern described above in reference to the total PI scale scores, Table 10. The M residents appeared to be most markedly different from the NM in seeing substantially more often the possibility of integrated churches and friendships. In reference to the neighborhood, the town dwellers appeared unique in that substantially fewer of them than village or metropolitan dwellers saw the possibility for integration in this arena of social contact.

Social Contexts and Integration: Interrelations

Desire for Integration (Table 11)

In reference to desire for integration (DI scale), a differential pattern on place of residence was apparent in the associations that existed among different social contexts. The village showed a strong positive association among all situations, except for "buying from stores". This context tended to demonstrate only moderate or low associations with others for all three residence types. The village tended to demonstrate

Figure 3. Place of Residence Differences in Perceived Strong Possibility for Racial Integration.



*PI score of 5

Table 9. Perceived Possibility for Integration in Different Social Contexts by Residence Type

PI Social Context	Possible			P at .05 (X^2)
	Village	Town	Metropolitan	
	----------Percent----------			
1. Church	65	55	95	Yes
2. School	100	96	97	No
3. Children (Play)	88	74	95	Yes
4. Neighborhood	88	58	92	Yes
5. Friendship (Close)	67	57	80	Yes

1. Church	X^2 = 109.18	df=2	P<.001	
2. School	X^2 = 2.37	df=2	.30<P<.50	
3. Children (Play)	X^2 = 45.67	df=2	P<.001	
4. Neighborhood	X^2 = 92.99	df=2	P<.001	
5. Friendship (Close)	X^2 = 33.94	df=2	P<.001	

Table 10. Rank Order of Perceived Possibilities for Racial Integration in Six Different Social Contexts by Place of Residence.

Percent ~~Desiring~~ Per. Possibilities	Village	Town	Metropolitan
100	•School		
95		•School	•School ••Church, Children
90			•Neighborhood
85	••Neighborhood Children (Play)		
80			
75		•Children(Play)	•Friendship
70			
65	•Friendship •Church		
60			
55		•Neighborhood •Friendship •Church	
50			
45			
40			
35			
30			
25			
% Range: High to Low	35%	41%	17%

TABLE 11. Intercorrelations of Individual Items for Desire for Integration

I. VILLAGES (NM)

Item*	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	TOTAL	MEAN	VARIANCE
(a)	1.000	.671	.617	.687	.591	.380	.815	1.37	.236
(b)		1.000	.643	.551	.407	.379	.755	1.56	.250
(c)			1.000	.821	.678	.416	.865	1.54	.250
(d)				1.000	.763	.451	.885	1.44	.250
(e)					1.000	.614	.839	1.40	.245
(f)						1.000	.672	1.48	.250
TOTAL							1.000	8.79	5.86

II. TOWN (NM)

Item*	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	TOTAL	MEAN	VARIANCE
(a)	1.000	.407	.585	.594	.455	.400	.763	1.52	.250
(b)		1.000	.625	.390	.355	.304	.669	1.70	.211
(c)			1.000	.621	.539	.541	.869	1.64	.232
(d)				1.000	.595	.393	.798	1.49	.250
(e)					1.000	.434	.753	1.53	.250
(f)						1.000	.657	1.79	.168
TOTAL							1.000	9.65	4.68

III. METROPOLITAN

Item*	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	(f)	TOTAL	MEAN	VARIANCE
(a)	1.000	.535	.496	.521	.432	.358	.749	1.66	.226
(b)		1.000	.559	.586	.355	.406	.738	1.82	.146
(c)			1.000	.650	.582	.453	.827	1.73	.196
(d)				1.000	.560	.361	.817	1.74	.193
(e)					1.000	.240	.731	1.55	.249
(f)						1.000	.565	1.88	.108
TOTAL							1.000	10.40	3.67

*See Appendix A for key.

the most variance, the lowest mean item scores, and the highest interitem correlations of the three groups. On the other hand, the metropolitan respondents had the least variance in item scores and the highest mean item score in every case.

In the correlation matrix for village, the three lowest correlations are "stores" with "church", "stores" with "school", "stores" with "children play". In M, the four lowest correlations are "stores" with "church", "friendship" with "school", "stores" with "neighborhood", and "stores" with "friendship". It is noted that the correlation for "stores" with "friendship" is only .240 in M, compared to .614 in village. In town, the three lowest correlations are "school" with the following three items: "neighborhood", "close, personal friendship", and "stores".

In general, for all three places of residence, "children play" and "neighborhood" have highest or next to highest inter-item correlation and highest item to total score. Also, "stores" had the lowest item to total correlation and tends to have low inter-item correlations with the exception of "friendship" in village. "School" has the next lowest item to total correlation with exception of M (where "friendship" has .007 lower correlation). For all three places of residence, "church", "children play", "neighborhood", and "friendships" tend to be very highly intercorrelated with the lowest correlation being .432. Although the difference is not large, "stores" and "children attend school" tend to have lower correlations on the average with these variables and have the lowest inter-item correlation for village and town. Exceptions to this are that "school" has strong correlations with "church", "children play" and "neighborhood" for both village and M, and

"school" with "children play" for town.

These findings may mean that all three groups tend to view buying at a store as a clearly different social situation--keeping in mind that desire for integration tends to be high relative to this social context, it can be presumed they thought of this as the most impersonal of the situations considered. The town respondents, to a greater extent than the others, apparently also categorized school relations in this way. In conclusion, there are a number of strong differences apparent among the place of residence types in the way they are conceptually defining or categorizing particular social contexts.

Possibility for Integration (Table 12)

As was the case for desiring integration, place of residence differences existed in patterns of association among specified social contexts in the respondents' perception of possibilities for racial integration (PI scale). Since school was perceived to be possible to integrate for almost all village and town respondents, it will be ignored in these cases here.

For the PI scale, the individual item means followed the same general pattern as the total score means with M means indication most possibility of integration (with exception of school) followed by village and then town. Also, M had the lowest variance for each item with exception of school.

Excluding school, the highest correlations on possibility for integration for village Blacks were between "church" and "children play", "church" and "neighborhood" and "church" with "friendships". The highest correlations for town were "children play" with "neighborhood", "church" with "friendships"

TABLE 12. Intercorrelations of Individual Items for Possibility of Racial Integration

I. VILLAGES (NM)

Item*	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	TOTAL	MEAN	VARIANCE
(a)	1.000	--	.466	.466	.418	.837	1.35	.231
(b)		1.000	--	--	--	--	1.00	.000
(c)			1.000	.335	.203	.631	1.11	.104
(d)				1.000	.346	.690	1.11	.104
(e)					1.000	.732	1.33	.224
TOTAL						1.000	5.90	1.46

II. TOWNS (NM)

Item*	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	TOTAL	MEAN	VARIANCE
(a)	1.000	.001	.413	.358	.438	.733	1.44	.248
(b)		1.000	.247	.104	.051	.266	1.04	.042
(c)			1.000	.455	.331	.742	1.27	.197
(d)				1.000	.367	.735	1.43	.246
(e)					1.000	.718	1.44	.247
TOTAL						1.000	6.62	2.16

III. METROPOLITAN

Item*	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	TOTAL	MEAN	VARIANCE
(a)	1.000	.451	.537	.387	.152	.652	1.06	.052
(b)		1.000	.617	.445	.200	.680	1.03	.033
(c)			1.000	.558	.345	.817	1.06	.052
(d)				1.000	.260	.726	1.08	.070
(e)					1.000	.668	1.20	.158
TOTAL						1.000	5.41	.836

*See Appendix A for key.

and "church" with "children play". Excluding school, the highest correlations for M were "church" with "children play" and "children play" with "neighborhood". For both village and town, the lowest correlation was "children play" with "friendships". For M the lowest correlations were "friendships" with the rest of the items (and the lowest was with "church").

In the village the highest item total correlation is "church" compared to "children play" for both town and M. However, for town all four items (except school) have very similar item total correlation. On the average, "church" correlates the highest with everything else for village and "children play" correlates the highest with everything else for M.

Again, it is clear that the meaning given specific situations differs by place of residence. We will offer some explanations for this tendency in a later section.

Interrelationships Among Perception of Prejudice, Desire for Integration, and Perceived Possibility for Integration

As Campbell and Fiske (1959) point out, it is important to examine interrelationships of conceptually related scales to determine if the scale measures for concepts are discriminating, (i.e., that they are measuring different things). Based on the intercorrelations of scales presented in Table 13, it appears there is a relationship between scales, but the correlations are generally low enough to indicate that three scales are measuring different dimensions of orientations toward race.

In all three places of residence, the higher the perception of prejudice, the lower the desire for integration. The correlation between PP and DI is highest in M(-.367), followed by village (-.251), and the lowest in the town (-.134). The magnitude of the correlation between PP and PI for village is

relatively strong (-.490) and relatively weak for town (-.146) and M (-.106).

The magnitude of the correlation between DI and PI is highest in town (+.380) followed by M (-.288) and then village (+.148). In all three places of residence, the higher the desire for integration, the higher the perceived possibility for integration.

In summary, perception of prejudice among the Blacks of all types was negatively associated with both desire and perception of possibility for racial integration. On the other hand, perceived possibilities for integration was positively related to desire for it in all three cases. While the direction of relationship is constant among these variables across the three residence types, the magnitude of association among the orientations varies widely and inconsistently by place of residence as shown below:

	Strongest Association	Weakest Association
PP and DI	M	Town
PP and PI	Village	M
DI and PI	Town	Village

This obviously means that not only the orientations vary by place of residence in a significant way, but so do the way they interact with each other. It can be concluded that place of residence is an influential variable among these southern Black women in reference to these variables.

Table 13. Interrelationships Among Orientation Toward Race Relations Variables

Orientations	Residence Types: Village (NM)	Town (NM)	M
	Correlations*		
PP and DI	-.251	-.134	-.367
PP and PI	-.490	-.146	-.106
DI and PI	+.148 1/	+.380	+.288

*Considering a directional test, all correlations are significant at the .05 level, unless otherwise indicated.

1/ Not significant at the .05 level.

Summary of Findings

One general finding that cuts across all modes of analysis reported here is that type of place of residence did make a difference among the Southern Black women studied in relation to their orientations toward race relations. This was not only true for the macro-distinction between metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas but held, also, for the rather small range of type of place differences exhibited between town and village residents within the same Texas county. The fact that there is not a straight linear progression by size of place on race orientations held by Blacks is demonstrated by the fact that sometimes the village and at other times the town dwellers most approximated the Houston ghetto residents (See Table 12, for instance).

Place of Residence Differences

The nature of the most significant place of residence differences alluded to above are presented below in outline form by type of orientation toward race relation.

Perception of Racial Prejudice:

1. Town dwellers perceived more racial prejudice than did the village and M residents.

2. Town residents clearly had more intra-group consensus on degree of perceived racial prejudice than did the other two residence types.

Desire for Racial Integration:

1. More variation existed among both types of NM Black women in desire for integration than for those in Houston, who predominantly desired racial integration in most social relationships.

2. Village residents desired integration least often, followed by town people and then M residents. Differences were very substantial. This general pattern of differences held without exception

across each of the six different social contexts surveyed--ranging from "close friendships" to "buying from stores".

3. Rank order of desire by social context.
   (a) M tended to rank "neighborhood" high in desire for integration, whereas town dwellers ranked it the lowest.
   (b) Village people ranked "buying from stores" lower than the other two groupings, which ranked it highest.

4. In general, degree of desire for integration of "children at play" and "neighborhood" demonstrated the highest level of associations with other social contexts and buying from stores the lowest, followed by "children at school". The pattern of intercorrelations varied by residence type--the greatest difference appearing to be between M respondents as compared with the other two.

Perceived Possibility For Racial Integration:

1. In reference to every social context considered, except school, the M respondents perceived by far the greatest opportunity for racial integration. The greatest place of residence difference was the marked lower perception of possible racial integration by town people as compared with the other two types.

2. The highest intra-group agreement existed among the M group (consistently very optimistic) and the lowest within the town category.

3. In general perceived possibility for integration among "children at play" had the highest intercorrelation with other social context items for town and M, but for village the item having the highest intercorrelations was church.

4. Perceived possibility for racial integration of church was ranked among the lowest for both NM types, but among the highest for the M.

Associations Among Race Relations Orientations:

1. While the direction of relationship did not vary by place of residence among the three variables, the magnitude of associations varied markedly and inconsistently.

Important General Similarities

Given the important place of residence differences summarized above, several patterns of similarity could be discerned at a higher level of abstraction, which are equally as important as the differences. These are summarized below:

Perception of Racial Prejudice:

1. All residence types perceived a high degree of diffuse racial prejudice directed toward them by local Whites.
2. Almost all Black women perceived Whites to hold all five of the negative stereotypes of Blacks utilized.

Desire For Racial Integration:

1. The three resident types were similar in some respects in their ranking of desirability of integration relative to different social contexts:
   (a) Most Desired: "School" and "Stores".
   (b) Least Desired: "Church" and "Friendship".

2. In general "children at play" and "church" had the highest inter-item correlations with other contextual items.

Possibility for Racial Integration:

1. A majority of all three residence types were generally optimistic about the possibility for racial integration.

2. The three resident types were similar in that almost all respondents perceived racial integration in school as possible.

Associations Among Race Relation Orientations:

The direction of relationship among perception of prejudice, desire for integration, and perceived possibility for integration was identical for all three residence types:

1. Perception of prejudice was negatively associated with both other orientations.

2. Perceived possibility for integration was positively related to desire for racial integration.

CONCLUSIONS AND DISCUSSION

Conclusions From Findings: Suggestions for Future Research

Obviously, we are limited in generalizing from our findings by the relatively limited population we have studied--Black adult females from a few selected areas in East Texas--and by the lack of comparable sets of reported findings to throw ours against. Still, there is no good reason to believe that the most general aspects of our reported findings would be different for similar respondents, at least in the South, until contradictory findings are reported. A provocative conclusion resulting from our findings that can serve as a hypothesis to be challenged by others is that place of residence does, in fact, influence racial orientations of Blacks in the South, but not necessarily in a linear fashion by size of place as past literature has implied.

Another important conclusion drawn from our findings that points to a great deal of need for theoretical development and additional research is that, regardless of residence type, a great deal of intragroup variation existed in degree of prejudice perceived. What factors explain this dramatic variability? Are they the same for all types of communities? Similar questions could be fruitfully posed in reference to the desirability of integration and perceived possibility for it to occur.

Beyond the observed differences among residence types in orientations toward race relations examined, were the residence differences in how these variables were interrelated. What is it in the fabric of the M community that could explain why it demonstrated the highest (by far) association of "perceived prejudice" with "desire for integration," but the lowest association among the three groupings between "perceived prejudice" and "perception of opportunity" for racial integration? The rather chaotic lack of patterning

among these associations of apparently theoretically-related variables is worthy of considerable imaginative thought and future research. Of first priority in this regard is the need to ascertain the extent to which these variations generally prevail--they conceivably could be unique to the few communities selected and compared here. Another interesting question for future research is to explain why the village association between desire for and perception of possibility for racial integration is low as compared with the others. Festinger's theory of cognitive dissonance would lead us to expect a high order of correlation between these two variables regardless of nature of community. Is it possible that village (rural) Blacks in the South really do not desire to be racially integrated to the extent that other Blacks do? This certainly poses a research question that has implications for the application of universalistic social policies across the breadth of our pluralistic society.

It is clear from our findings that the town residents perceived a higher degree of racial prejudice directed toward them by local Whites than the other two resident groups. This is a perplexing finding to interpret theoretically--it contradicts the linear type progression predicted by past findings relative to decreasing racial prejudice as size of place increases. One possible explanation that might be tested in future research is that racial prejudice of Whites toward Blacks has more of an impact on the latter in small towns and cities than either in the open country or large metropolitan centers because of a difference in clarity and visibility of racial neighborhood boundaries. At least in this case, the Black area of the town was literally "across the tracks" and clearly separated from the White areas. Our observations in the field indicate an almost total lack of racial mixing in any

neighborhood unit and absence even of racially different families living in close proximity to each other, while not separated by an extremely visible physical boundary (i.e. railroad, feed mill, cemetery, etc.). Furthermore, it is our judgment that no Black family, regardless of desire, could establish lasting residence in a "White" area of this town. On the other hand, in the villages in the same county, there were no clear physical separations of the racial residential areas. One area flowed into another, possibly both referred to by the same place name, although separated in space in the open country. One did not get the impression that Blacks could not live anywhere they chose in this open country setting. In fact, some lived in very close proximity to white families--a pattern persisting from the old tenant farmer relationships that no longer endure. The joint work relationship dissolved, but in some cases at least, the household location patterns persisted through intergenerational ties on both sides.

Theoretical Inferences: Type of Prejudice

The measures we have viewed here can be interpreted as indicators of racial prejudice held by Blacks toward Whites, as we mentioned earlier (see pp. 13-14). In this sense, the generally observed strong perception that local Whites hold a number of negative stereotypes about Blacks (and, therefore, demonstrate strong racial prejudices) is indicative of a strong current of cognitive prejudice toward Whites on the part of Blacks themselves. While there is undoubtedly a factual basis for these perceptions, the fact that the Black respondents could easily generalize the possession to local Whites as a category would indicate a strong, probably negative, prejudice.

Desire for integration is an indicator of affective prejudice (social distance). Consequently, the low desire for racial integration among many respondents, particularly the village, would again indicate reciprocation of Whites' negative prejudicial feelings about them. In this respect, the fact

that the NM Blacks desired integration much less than they perceived it to be possible would support the assertion that affective prejudice is being demonstrated. The fact that there was substantially greater incongruence in this regard for the NM than the M, would support the notion that the M residents do not in general possess as much affective prejudice as the Blacks in the hinterland.

The variation in place of residence differentials between the two indicators of racial prejudice on the part of the Black respondents would indicate they are not necessarily associated to a high degree or in a positive way. The intercorrelations between perception of prejudice and desire for integration are to varying degrees negative. If these two factors are valid indicators of different kinds of prejudice as we assert, it would clearly appear that they can vary independently and that the nature of their associations is to some extent dependent on latent factors associated with differences in type of place of residence. These inferences should provide provocative hypothesis for future research not only on the subject of racial prejudice but relative to the general concept of prejudice.

The rather marked, patterned variation among all three residence groups on situational differences in desire for racial integration would support the notion that the nature of the social relationship influences affective prejudice. Close friendship and church associations were ranked low for all three groupings in this regard and school and buying from stores relatively high. Assuming that close friendship and church are defined as more personal and informal relations than the other two, it can be inferred that affectual prejudice increases, regardless of residence type, as the object relationship becomes more personal and informal. This supports and extends generalizations

from limited, earlier research findings (Williams, 1964).

Theoretical Inferences: Situational Definitions

Given the assertion that informality of relationship is inversely related to desire for racial integration, it can also be inferred that the place of residence groupings defined the same social relationship differently in some cases. The town residents appeared to view the neighborhood generally as the most informal of all situations--clearly differing from the other groupings in this regard. At the same time, the village residents did not view interaction in stores as one of extreme formality as did the other groups. An interesting question for future research is to what extent similar patterns can be found for other groups in the South and among different groups in other regions? Also, to what extent do the apparent conceptions of the relative informality-formality of situations demonstrated by these respondents indicate a racial differential? For instance, would White respondents from a variety of types of community tend to define church as one of the most personal and informal relations or tend to view the peer associations among children as relatively formal as these respondents evidently did? It is likely that both type of place residence and race will be found to influence, in part, the definition of interaction situations and the expected roles appropriate for them. Only much future research geared to such questions can produce the kind of knowledge needed to feel confident in answers offered to them. Such answers might provide insight into the apparent probability for dissociative relations to evolve among newly mixed groups coming from different types of place of residence (rururban fringe developments) or different racial backgrounds (the military).

Methodological Considerations

In our study, three scales for measuring racial orientations of Blacks were constructed as indicators of their orientations toward race relations. The aspects considered relevant in this study were amount of race prejudice Blacks perceived directed at them by local Whites, perceptions of opportunity for racial integration, and desire for racial integration. Items used in our three scales on racial orientations could be considered as a sampling of items from a domain of all possible items. Therefore, we are interested in reliability and validity including discriminant validation (do the scales measure same or different things).

Based on reliability coefficients, item to total score correlations, average intercorrelation among items, homogeneity of correlation, means of individual items and variances of individual items, the PP and DI scales appear to be acceptable scales. The PI scale tends to satisfy the above criteria with the exception of the school item with which over 80% of the total respondents agreed. In terms of discriminant validation, there appears to be consistent relationships among the three scales for all three populations studied. However, the correlation among the scales are generally low enough to indicate that these three scales are measuring different aspects or dimensions of racial orientations. The satisfaction of reliability criteria and discrimination validation varied according to place of residence.

These scales need to be further examined in other populations which vary from those used here in racial attributes, in social situations and amount of prejudice to determine the general applicability of the scales and general usefulness in future research studies. Also, additional work needs to be completed in the present study and further studies to determine how

these scales relate to other variables. Additional research efforts are needed in the areas of construct, content, concurrent and predictive validity. These efforts would be tied in with the task of conceptual specification for different kinds of facial prejudice. Since multiple items represent the different dimensions, it would be desirable for data to be collected to allow the utilization of a multitrait-multimethod matrix (Campbell and Fiske). This would facilitate examination of reliability and validity including convergent and discriminant validation.

In using multiple indicators to represent theoretical concepts, the actual items used need to be examined in terms of how well they represent the theoretical concepts. Also, the number of items used, the response framework utilized, and their interrelationship influence scaling criteria such as reliability coefficients, item to total scores, etc. Certain research studies on given scales have indicated that increasing response alternatives influences reliability coefficients, item to total scores, etc. Certain research studies on given scales have indicated that increasing response alternatives influences reliability coefficients and other scaling criteria. Research is needed to determine if increasing response categories to a seven or eleven point continuum for the items involved would influence the already favorable scale evaluation of the instruments used here in terms of reliability and discrimination. Also, with the increased use of multivariate analysis techniques these response frameworks would assist in meeting the assumptions for using these techniques.

In general, an increase in representative items (highly related to present items) tends to increase reliability coefficients and at the same time would give a more adequate measurement of the theoretical concept. Therefore, additional contextual areas could be added and empirically examined to strengthen the utility of the PI and DI. Some additional areas which might be considered are employment or work situations, home visits among friends, membership in organizations including service clubs and country clubs, cafes and restaurants, and sport and recreational activities (including spectator and participant). Then a capability would exist to divide the scores into different contextual types--the findings reported here indicate this would have utility.

In summary, it appears that our sclaes measure three dimensions of racial orientation and satisfy measurement criteria. However, additional efforts are needed to determine general applicability and improve the measurement of the theoretical constructs. Joint activities between theoretical specification and measurement need to be carried out in research studies with various populations.

We intend to continue working on these problems and encourage others to join in exploring this important problem area.

FOOTNOTES

1. These patterns are described in great detail as they apply to a variety of social contexts in Kuvlesky and Cannon (1971). It is also interesting to note that a pattern apparently contradictory to these--but in agreement with general beliefs and speculations of sociologists--was also reported in this paper: that town dwellers generally had more desire for social integration than their village counterparts.

2. A colleague, Margaret Cannon of Texas A&M, is involved at this time in attempting to ascertain the significance of racial prejudice, perceived racial integration potential, and desire for racial integration for place of residence aspirations and migration intentions of these respondents.

3. The race relation instruments used here were piggy-backed onto a set of instruments on family structures, processes, and resources developed in collaboration with a number of other researchers participating in an inter-disciplinary, interstate USDA study (NC-90) which attempts to discover family-related factors involved in the inter-generational perpetuation of poverty. The Texas Agricultural Experiment Station accepted responsibility for the presentation of a sample of southern Blacks in the larger project. Other state Experiment Stations collaborating on this project are California, Hawaii, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska, Ohio, Vermont, and Wisconsin.

4. Originally, we decided to select only one town of about 5,000 people that would be relatively representative of such places in the nonmetropolitan portion of East Texas. The size of place criteria were determined to permit comparability with similar population centers being studied by other states, and the geographical location was established by our desire to tap the traditional southern cultural type. We decided on the strategy of selecting only one "representative" town rather than a sample of such towns in order to facilitate building on to the survey through direct observation of wholistic social units and through possible time lapse data (within the limitations of a small budget). Once we had selected the town, the villages were observed in eyeballing the surrounding hinterland, and it was decided to include them as well in order to get some idea of intrarural place of residence variations. This could be done at little additional cost because we used the same interviewers in both the town and villages, and the villages were within traveling distance of the town. W. Kennedy Upham (TAES Demographer) assisted in selection of the town and in other ways to be noted later.

5. See the discussion above in Footnote 4.

6. W. Kennedy Upham deserves much credit for his assistance in selection of all the study units, supervising the mapping of the selected places, and developing the rapport with local officials and informants that aided us in bringing the study off without any unpleasant instances or apparent disruptions of the local social systems.

7. The screening criteria used for selection of respondents was imposed by agreements reached by the NC-90 Technical Committee (see Footnote 3).

8. Direct observations of the study area were made by W. Kennedy Upham, William P. Kuvlesky, and Katheryn (Thomas) Dietrich just prior to and during the survey. In addition, M. B. Flippen, a graduate student, recorded direct observations and information from key informants on the nature of race relations in the NM study areas during June, 1971. In addition, a local Black male participating in interviewer supervision kept a journal of observations in the Houston area.

9. This is a modification of a scale reported by Works (1961), which he indicated had high face validity.

10. Store ownership was added to the DI scale after the other comparable relationship types were decided upon as a test of its utility. Although we did not originally plan to use it in calculation of the total DI scale, it was more useful than the school item in this regard--so we used it.

REFERENCES

BOHRNSTEDT, GEORGE W. (1969) "A quick method for determining the reliability and validity of multiple-item scales." American Sociological Review, 34: 542-548.

CAMPBELL, D. T. and D. W. FISKE (1959) "Convergent and discriminant validation by the multitrait-multimethod matrix." Psychological Bulletin, 56:289-321.

COLEMAN, A. L. (1965) "The rural-urban variable in race relations." Rural Sociology 30 (December):393-406.

CRONBACH, L. J. (1951) "Coefficient alpha and the internal structure of tests." Psychometrika, 16:297-334.

CURTIS, R. F. and E. F. JACKSON (1962) "Multiple indicators in survey research." American Journal of Sociology, 68:195-204.

KUVLESKY, W. P. and M. CANNON (1971) "Perception of racial prejudice among rural and small town Blacks in a southern county." Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Rural Sociological Society, Denver.

KUVLESKY, W. P. and K. (THOMAS) DIETRICH (1972) "A longitudinal study of Blacks' perceptions of race relations: a study of village Blacks in a southern area." Paper presented at the annual meetings of the Rural Sociology Section, Association of Southern Agricultural Workers, Richmond, Virginia.

KUVLESKY, W. P. and E. TAFT (1972) "Problems and hang-ups in the study of racial prejudice: conceptual ambiguities and empirical gaps." Paper presented at the annual Texas Academy of Science meetings, San Marcos, Texas.

MILLER, E. W. (1966) The Negro in America: A Bibliography. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press.

NORMAN, C. M. (1971) "The role of sociologists in race relations." Phylon 32 (Summer): 193-197.

WILLIAMS, R. M., JR. (1964) Strangers Next Door: Ethnic Relations in American Communities. Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc.

WORKS, E. (1961) "The prejudice-interaction hypothesis from the point of view of the Negro minority group." American Journal of Sociology, 67 (July): 47-52.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: RACE RELATIONS

INSTRUMENTS

1. Perception of Prejudice Directed Toward Negroes by Whites.

Please tell me how much you agree of disagree with the following statements: (Indicate the four alternatives to the respondent before reading the statements. Circle one number for each. FORCE A RESPONSE.)

(a) "White people around here judge Negroes by the worse type of Negroes."

4	3	2	1	
Strongly Agree	Tend to Agree	Tend to Disagree	Strongly Disagree	(A-20)

(b) "White people around here don't like to be around Negroes."

4	3	2	1	
Strongly Agree	Tend to Agree	Tend to Disagree	Strongly Disagree	(A-21)

(c) "White people around here don't like white kids to play with Negro kids."

4	3	2	1	
Strongly Agree	Tend to Agree	Tend to Disagree	Strongly Disagree	(A-22)

(d) "White people around here never let you forget they are white and you are Negro."

4	3	2	1	
Strongly Agree	Tend to Agree	Tend to Disagree	Strongly Disagree	(A-23)

(e) "White people around here think they are cleaner than Negroes."

4	3	2	1	
Strongly Agree	Tend to Agree	Tend to Disagree	Strongly Disagree	(A-24)

_____ (A-25,26)

2. Desire for Racial Integration:

If it were possible, would you prefer: (Read this statement prior to each item.)	Negroes Only (Read this after each item.)	OR	Negroes and Whites	
(a) To go to church with	1		2	(A-30)
(b) To have my children attend school with	1		2	(A-31)
(c) Outside of school, to have my children play with	1		2	(A-32)
(d) To live in a neighborhood with	1		2	(A-33)
(e) To have close, personal friendships with	1		2	(A-34)
(f) To buy from stores owned by	1		2	(A-35)
				(A-36,37)

3. Perception of Possibility of Racial Integration:

Which of the things mentioned below do you think are really possible now where you live?

	P	NP	
(a) For Negroes and whites to attend church services together	1	2	(A-40)
(b) For Negro and white children to attend the same school	1	2	(A-41)
(c) For Negro and white children to play together outside of school	1	2	(A-42)
(d) For Negroes and whites to live close together in the same neighborhood	1	2	(A-43)
(e) For Negroes and whites to have close, personal friendships	1	2	(A-44)
			(A-45,46)

APPENDIX B: DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONSES ON INDIVIDUAL SCALE ITEMS

PART A: Distributions on Perception of Prejudice Items

Table 1. Responses to "White people around here judge Negroes by the worst type Negro."

	Village (N=51)	Town (N=204)	Metropolitan (N=294)
	Percent		
1. Strongly Disagree	8	3	6
2. Tend to Disagree	20	10	22
3. Tend to Agree	31	39	33
4. Strongly Agree	41	48	39
TOTAL	100	100	100
No information	1	3	

$X^2 = 16.82$ df=6 .001<P<.01

Table 2. Responses to "White people around here don't like to be around Negroes."

	Village (N=51)	Town (N=203)	Metropolitan (N=294)
	Percent		
1. Strongly Disagree	8	1	8
2. Tend to Disagree	22	16	31
3. Tend to Agree	41	41	33
4. Strongly Agree	29	42	28
TOTAL	100	100	100
No information	1	4	

$X^2 = 34.39$ df=6 P<.001

Table 3. Responses to "White people around here don't like white kids to play with Negro kids."

	Village (N=51)	Town (N=203)	Metropolitan (N=293)
	Percent		
1. Strongly Disagree	6	1	9
2. Tend to Disagree	28	15	28
3. Tend to Agree	35	39	33
4. Strongly Agree	31	45	30
TOTAL	100	100	100
No information	1	4	1

$X^2 = 32.65$ df=6 P<.001

Table 4. "White people around here never let you forget they are white and you are Negro."

	Village (N=51)	Town (N=203)	Metropolitan (N=294)
	----------Percent----------		
1. Strongly Disagree	6	0	7
2. Tend to Disagree	14	8	16
3. Tend to Agree	33	29	25
4. Strongly Agree	47	63	52
TOTAL	100	100	100
No information	1	4	

X^2=22.75 df=6 P<.001

Table 5. Responses to "White people around here think they are cleaner than Negroes."

	Village (N=51)	Town (N=204)	Metropolitan (N=294)
	----------Percent----------		
1. Strongly Disagree	6	0	10
2. Tend to Disagree	12	7	18
3. Tend to Agree	31	27	26
4. Strongly Agree	51	66	46
TOTAL	100	100	100
No information	1	3	

X^2=39.14 df=6 P<.001

PART B: Distribution On Perceived Possibility of Integration Items

Table 6. Responses to "Is it really possible now where you live for Negroes and whites to attend church services together?"

	Villages (N=52)	Town (N=204)	Metropolitan (N=293)
	----------Percent----------		
Possible	65	55	95
Not possible	35	45	3
TOTAL	100	100	100
No information	0	3	1

X^2=109.18 df=2 P< .001

Table 7. Responses to "Is it really possible now where you live for Negro and white children to attend the same school?"

	Villages (N=52)	Town (N=204)	Metropolitan (N=293)
	----------Percent----------		
Possible	100	96	97
Not possible	0	4	3
TOTAL	100	100	100
no information	0	3	1

X^2=2.37 df=2 .30< P< .50

Table 8. Responses to "Is it really possible now where you live for Negro and white children to play together outside of school?"

	Villages (N=52)	Town (N=204)	Metropolitan (N=293)
	----------Percent----------		
Possible	88	74	95
Not possible	12	26	5
TOTAL	100	100	100
No information	0	4	1

X^2=45.67 df=2 P< .001

Table 9. Responses to "Is it really possible now where you live for Negroes and whites to live close together in the same neighborhood?"

	Villages (N=52)	Town (N=203)	Metropolitan (N=292)
		Percent	
Possible	88	58	92
Not possible	12	42	8
TOTAL	100	100	100
No information		4	2

$X^2=92.99$ df=2 P<.001

Table 10. Responses to "Is it really possible now where you live for Negroes and whites to have close, personal friendships?"

	Villages (N=52)	Town (N=203	Metropolitan (N=292)
		Percent	
Possible	67	57	80
Not possible	33	43	20
TOTAL	100	100	100
No information		4	2

$X^2=33.94$ df=2 P<.001

PART C: Distribution On Desire For Integration Items

Table 11. Responses to "If it were possible, would you prefer to go to church with..."

	Village (N=52)	Town (N=203)	Metropolitan (N=293)
	Percent		
Negroes only	63	48	34
Negroes and Whites	37	52	66
TOTAL	100	100	100
No information	0	4	1

X^2=20.37 df=2 P< .001

Table 12. Responses to "If it were possible, would you prefer to have your children attend school with..."

	Village (N=52)	Town (N=204)	Metropolitan (N=293)
	Percent		
Negroes only	44	30	18
Negroes and Whites	56	70	82
TOTAL	100	100	100
No information			

X^2=21.28 df=2 P< .001

Table 13. Responses to "If it were possible, would you prefer to have your children play, outside of school, with..."

	Village (N=52)	Town (N=204)	Metropolitan (N=293)
	Percent		
Negroes only	46	36	27
Negroes and Whites	54	64	73
TOTAL	100	100	100
No information			

X^2=10.37 df=2 .001< P< .01

Table 14. Responses to "If it were possible, would you prefer to live in a neighborhood with..."

	Village (N=52)	Town (N=203)	Metropolitan (N=292)
	Percent		
Negroes only	56	51	26
Negroes and Whites	44	49	74
TOTAL	100	100	100
No information	0	4	2

$X^2=39.37$ df=2 P<.001

Table 15. Responses to "If it were possible, would you prefer to have close, personal friendships with..."

	Village (N=52)	Town (N=204)	Metropolitan (N=293)
	Percent		
Negroes only	60	47	45
Negroes and Whites	40	53	55
TOTAL	100	100	100
No information	0	3	1

$X^2=3.61$ df=2 .10<P<.20

Table 16. Responses to "If it were possible, would you prefer to buy from stores owned by..."

	Village (N=52)	Town (N=204)	Metropolitan (N=293)
	Percent		
Negroes only	52	22	12
Negroes and Whites	48	78	88
TOTAL	100	100	100
No information		3	1

$X^2=45.14$ df=2 P<.001

APPENDIX C: "PP" SCALE ITEMS

For the PP scale, the individual item means followed the same general pattern as the total score means with town having the highest means and village and M having similar means (Table 8). The variance for each item was also the smallest for the town as it was for the total score. For all three places of residence the highest inter-item correlation was between items b and c. Items b and c also had higher item to total correlation than the other three items with the exception of village where item a exceeded c. Item b and e, and c and e had the lowest inter-item correlation for villages. Item a and e had the lowest inter-item correlation for town and the lowest for M was a and d. In the villages item e "white people around here think they are cleaner than Negroes" tends to have the lowest inter-item correlations and lowest item to total correlation. In M, the two lowest inter-item correlations and the lowest item to total correlation was item a "white people around here judge Negroes by the worst type of Negroes." In town, the two lowest item-to-total correlations were for item a and e.

TABLE 17. Intercorrelations of Individual Items for Perception of Prejudice

I. VILLAGES

Item *	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	TOTAL	MEAN	VARIANCE
(a)	1.000	.707	.707	.742	.700	.882	3.06	.936
(b)		1.000	.808	.677	.638	.884	2.92	.834
(c)			1.000	.750	.638	.861	2.92	.834
(d)				1.000	.668	.858	3.22	.916
(e)					1.000	.836	3.28	.803
TOTAL							15.24	15.54

II. TOWN

Item *	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	TOTAL	MEAN	VARIANCE
(a)	1.000	.485	.412	.459	.365	.731	3.32	.599
(b)		1.000	.572	.433	.456	.787	3.25	.558
(c)			1.000	.560	.491	.785	3.29	.557
(d)				1.000	.553	.758	3.52	.446
(e)					1.000	.729	3.58	.420
TOTAL							16.99	7.31

III. METROPOLITAN

Item *	(a)	(b)	(c)	(d)	(e)	TOTAL	MEAN	VARIANCE
(a)	1.000	.554	.526	.390	.499	.720	3.06	.854
(b)		1.000	.751	.525	.639	.851	2.81	.894
(c)			1.000	.584	.599	.840	2.84	.900
(d)				1.000	.610	.777	3.22	.927
(e)					1.000	.826	3.08	1.046
TOTAL						1.000	15.03	15.10

*See Appendix A for meaning of symbols.

Table 18. Summary of PP Scale Inter-Item Analysis

Inter-Item Correlations

PP Items	Village			Town			M		
	*VH	MH	M	VH	MH	M	VH	H	M
(a)	all	--	--	--	(b),(c),(d)	(e)		(b),(c),(e)	(d)
(b)	all	--	--	--	all	--	(c),(e)	(a),(d)	--
(c)	all	--	--	--	all	--	(b),(e)	(a),(d)	--
(d)	all	--	--	--	all	--	(e)	(b),(c)	(a)
(e)	all	--	--	--	(b),(e),(d)	(a)	(b),(e),(d)	(a)	--

*Key:

VH = >.59

MH = .59-.4

M = <.4